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HPSCI Briefing, 20 September 1983

Moscow and its friends and allies are increasingly active throughout the world using both overt and covert means to bolster Soviet policies and to undermine those of the US.

On the overt side, Moscow capitalizes on a vast diplomatic, economic, and military presence:

- Moscow is the world's leading arms exporter, with military equipment sales of \$68.2 billion during the last decade. There are also now more than 18,000 Soviet military advisors in the LDCs, up from 10,000 five years ago.
- Another 40,000 Soviet civilian technicians work in the LDCs, and the Soviets and East Europeans have established a network of more than 400 companies in Western and Third World countries.
- Over 80,000 LDC students and 10,000 foreign military or economic specialists were being trained in Soviet Bloc facilities last year.
- Radio Moscow now beams programs worldwide in more than 60 languages and is on the air nearly 1,200 hours each week.

On the covert side, Moscow has a vigorous program of "active measures" and other clandestine activities. This program is for the most part carried out by the KGB under the direction of the Central Committee of the CPSU. We estimate that some 25 percent of the 18,000 official Soviets abroad are KGB or other intelligence personnel.

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To conduct their covert operations, the Soviets:

- support and guide the activities of more than 70 nonruling Communist parties;
- exploit ties to international and local front groups;
- penetrate and manipulate mass movements, leftist parties, and labor and student organizations;
- influence foreign media through controlled journalists, misleading articles, and forgeries;
- operate four clandestine radio stations that broadcast from the Soviet Union and East Germany;
- use agents of influence to manipulate private channels of communication and exploit unwitting contacts; and
- train and support insurgent and terrorist groups with significant help from Cuba and Libya.

Using such mechanisms, the Soviets and their allies have developed programs to undermine US interests in every region of the World.

Europe remains the major focus of US-Soviet competition. Moscow's primary goal is to block or reduce US INF deployments. To this end:

- The Soviets have fostered and supported the European peace movement and encouraged West European and international opposition to US and NATO deployments.
- The Soviet-controlled World Peace Council and other international and local fronts have sponsored innumerable meetings and assemblies to discredit US plans.
- At Soviet direction, the Communist parties of Italy,

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Spain, Greece, and West Germany have organized demonstrations and stepped up propaganda efforts.

- Soviet diplomats and Novosti press personnel have conspired with local opponents of INF deployment.
- West Germany, Norway, Austria, and Belgium have been targets of Soviet forgeries and disinformation about US plans and intentions.

Moscow has also sought to weaken NATO by disseminating forged documents aimed to raise public anxiety about NATO activities and to demonstrate US interference in local politics. Indeed, in 1981 the Soviets surfaced a forged letter from President Reagan to King Juan Carlos warning the King of internal opposition to Spain's entry into NATO.

Several other forgeries have appeared this year that exploit sensitive US-European political and economic issues:

- In Austria last January, then-Chancellor Kreisky received a Soviet forgery of a State Department cable calling for secret US efforts to eliminate Communist parties in non-Communist countries.
- A tape of an alleged conversation between President Reagan and Prime Minister Thatcher during the Falklands war was sent to two influential newspapers in the Hague. The tape, which portrays Thatcher as blood-thirsty, has the mark of a Soviet forgery.
- In July, an Italian newsweekly published two fabricated US Embassy Rome telegrams acknowledging that the effort to publicize a Bulgarian and KGB role in the papal

assassination was a US disinformation campaign.

Soviet fabrications have also played a major role in Moscow's effort to justify martial law in Poland and to imply a US role in Poland's unrest. For example:

- ° A forged State cable suggested that CIA funded Solidarity;
- ° A Madrid newsweekly published a fake memorandum that proposed a US destabilization policy in Poland; and,
- ° A forged letter from a US labor official suggested that the AFL-CIO was sending funds clandestinely to "Solidarity."

In Latin America, Moscow supports leftist revolutions as part of its effort to undermine US interests. Cuba aids and abets Moscow's goals while pursuing its own aims. As elsewhere, the Soviets have used front groups, covert support to Communist and leftist parties, press placements, forgeries, and disinformation:

- ° The World Peace Council and its affiliates held several meetings last year in Central America to denounce US policy.
- ° The Soviets used misleading press articles and a forged DoD press release to capitalize on anti-US feelings generated by the Falklands war.
- ° Soviet media assets charged that US policy in Latin America included assassination and the use of biological and chemical warfare.

Cuba provides arms, training, and financing for the Sandinistas and the insurgencies in Guatemala, Honduras, and El

Salvador. Cuba also supports the M-19, the FARC, and ELN terrorists in Columbia. Havana has also infiltrated Cuban-trained terrorists to Chile, and is in contact with the Sendero Luminoso insurgents in Peru.

Libya supports Soviet interests in the region as a way of striking at the United States close to home. In the past year, Libya has provided cash to the Antigua-Caribbean Liberation Movement, six Brazilian Labor Party candidates, Chile's exiled Popular Unity Coalition, Guatemala's Guerrilla Army of the Poor, and the Venezuelan Socialist League. Qadhafi himself met with Salvadoran insurgents last September and offered more equipment and explosives from Libyan stockpiles.

In the Middle East, Soviet activities have been aimed primarily at depicting the US and its ties to Israel as detrimental to the Arab world. The Soviets have also sought to further distance Iran and the US and have tried to manipulate the fundamentalist Muslim and Zionist movements. Libya's activities--including direct involvement with terrorist groups--are not directed by the USSR but serve Moscow's interests by promoting regional instability.

Last year's Israeli invasion of Lebanon provides a prime example of a Soviet active measures campaign in force:

- Moscow's Arabic-language radio argued that the invasion had been planned long in advance by "US imperialism and its Zionist clique." To bolster these allegations, a forged DoD document was used to suggest that the US approved of the Israeli invasion in advance.

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- The World Peace Council held a special meeting in Geneva calling for an international commission of inquiry.
- Palestinian Solidarity committees, with Communist elements taking the lead, sprang up in many countries, followed by a spate of demonstrations led by Communist fronts.

In South Asia, the Soviets have concentrated on justifying their occupation of Afghanistan, countering US and Pakistani support for Afghan insurgents, and stemming India's drift away from the USSR:

- Disinformation and international fronts have been employed to influence world opinion in favor of Soviet Afghan policies.
- Pakistani officials believe that the Soviets have helped aggravate differences among Afghan resistance leaders, supplied weapons to Pakistani border tribes, and promoted domestic opposition to President Zia.
- Prompted by Moscow, India's leftist media have attempted to cast suspicion on US policies toward India and the Third World. Early this year several papers ran a story based on a Soviet forgery that purported to be a speech by Ambassador Kirkpatrick. The speech presented a distorted view of US policies in the Third World designed to offend regional sensitivities.

Soviet active measures in sub-Saharan Africa have for the most part been aimed at discrediting US policy concerning both Black Africa and South Africa. Recently, forgeries have become particularly prevalent. In Ghana and Nigeria forged documents

were used to implicate US Ambassadors Smith and Pickering in assassination plots. In southern Africa, a disinformation campaign supported by forgeries was used to allege US military collusion with South Africa. In addition, the Soviet Union, Eastern Europe, Cuba, and Libya provide support to radical regimes and insurgent and dissident groups in Africa, all of which contribute to undermining Western influence in the region.

In East Asia, Soviet activities are directed primarily at increasing US-Japanese tensions. Testimony before this Committee last year by KGB defector [] showed the Soviets^{25X1} have made extensive use of fronts and influential assets in Japan's political and media circles. During the last year we have seen Soviet efforts to influence the peace movement in Japan as well:

- ° Novosti representatives offered to provide Japanese reporters with letters from "typical" Soviet citizens touting the "Peace Program."
- ° Moscow sent a letter directly to Japan's socialist parties urging them to oppose the deployment of US nuclear weapons in Japan.

In Southeast Asia, the major thrust of Soviet active measures has been defensive, aimed at diverting attention from Communist use of chemical and biological warfare in the region.

In sum, Moscow's covert activities worldwide undermine US interests and frustrate and complicate US foreign policy. The Soviet active measures program has grown in intensity and has become more bold. Their campaign to implicate US Ambassadors and

other high officials in assassination plots is but one reflection of this trend.

The technical quality of some forgeries has also improved, and the phony Thatcher-Reagan tape may mark the beginning of a new technique in future disinformation campaigns. A high-ranking KGB officer last year was reliably reported to have applauded the improved quality and increased effectiveness of active measures in recent years. He singled out KGB residencies in Western Europe, the Middle East, and Central and South American for particular praise. These regions will continue to be prime areas of Soviet attentions:

- ° In Western Europe, Moscow continues to monitor, stimulate, and redirect flagging elements of the region's various peace movements. Bloc efforts will undoubtedly intensify as US INF deployments draw close.
- ° In the Middle East, the Soviets and their allies will likely continue to play the "spoiler" role by trying to discredit US peace initiatives and fueling anti-American sentiment.
- ° In Latin America, Moscow is optimistic about the prospects for increased success from active measures. The President of the Soviet Peace Committee reportedly said last December that the situation in Argentina and Panama is especially "promising" and that "the time has come to take the offensive." Cuba too will continue to frustrate US interests by trying to spread revolution.